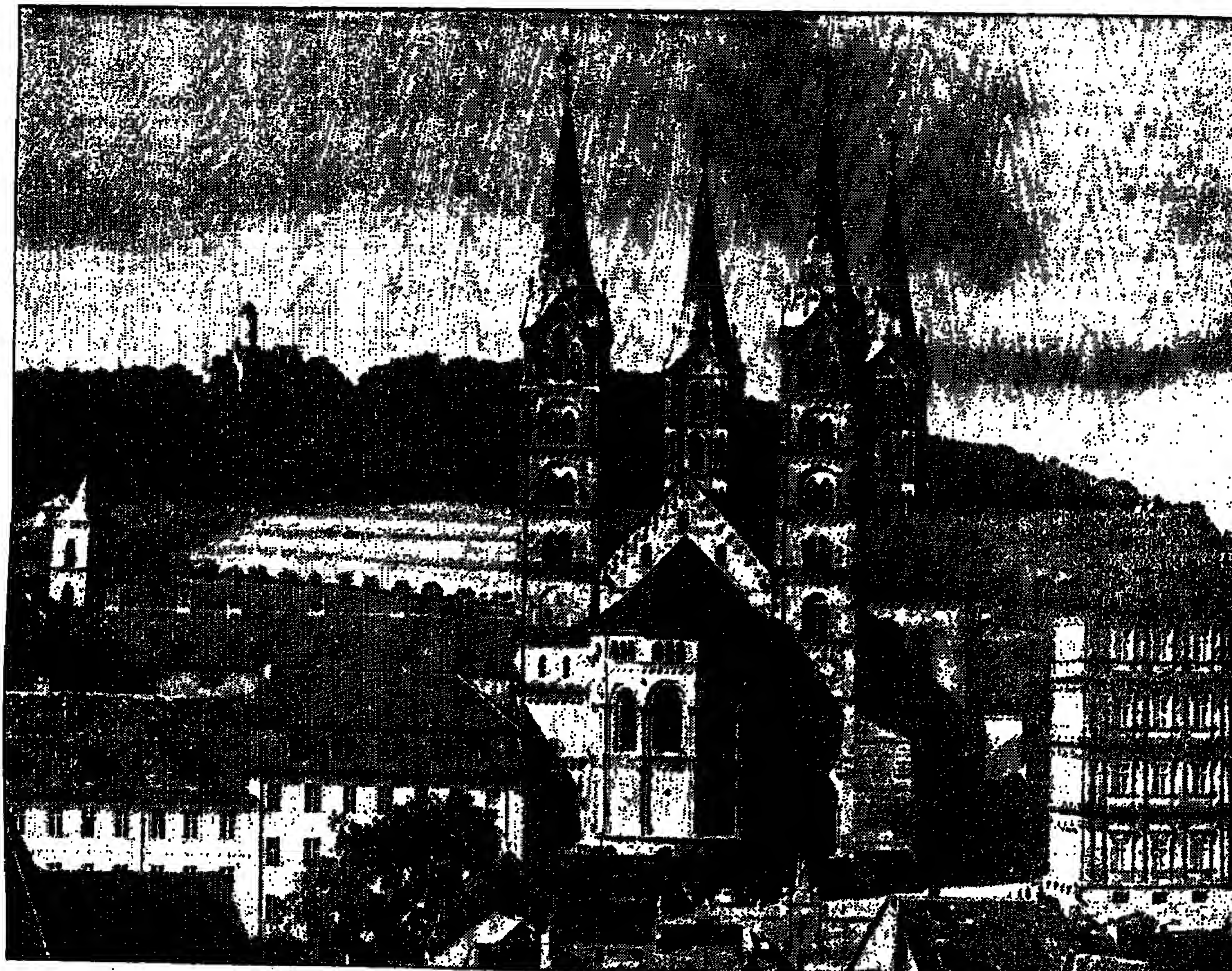


Germany's churches and cathedrals

Everyone knows, of course, that in Cologne, Worms, Freiburg, Aachen, Ulm and elsewhere ancient Gothic and Romanesque cathedrals tower up like castles into the sky. Impressive structures down to the very treasures in their vaults. For even here, in this land of industry, tourism, inter-city trains, airlines and motorways, churches, cathedrals and chapels have more than a spiritual function. They are reminders, thought-provoking. Cherished as

artistic masterpieces. Take, for instance, the delightful Romanesque church in Dietkirchen on the Lahn. Or the enchanting Wieskirche, surrounded by the woods and meadows of the Alpine foothills in Upper Bavaria. Clear, serene, rococo splendour. Just two examples from many thousands. "Churches," as James Joyce wrote in 1915 on a Rhine journey, "like miracles from heaven."



Bamberg, Bavaria

Velbert Neviges Church in the Ruhr

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt

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EEC closes ranks on foreign policy

Common Market countries propose adopting a joint approach to international crises.

Years of words, the 10 have now organised into action.

They intend to do was worked out at a meeting of EEC foreign ministers.

Common Market countries have decided because they feel closer ties in a world where the atmosphere has taken a distinct turn for the worse.

Britain's Lord Carrington suggested a speech to the Overseas Club in London last November, foreign ministers to convene within 48 hours of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

He took them over three months to agree.

A small staff of first-rate specialists and 10 Foreign Ministries will serve as a political secretariat.

Three main aspects of a policy of European foreign policy by Lord Carrington, by Bonn's Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

IN THIS ISSUE

Page 2
Foreign Affairs: summit: wrestling with the problems of two hemispheres

Page 4
Many: motivating forces behind the Great Arms Debate

Page 7
Many: plans for coal conversion and wave of disinclination

Page 8
Many: and by Italy's Emilio Colombo at this organisational improvement.

Page 9
Many: disarmament, East-West ties and a common peace policy for the world.

Page 10
Many: Disarmament: The European Community is to try to enlist Soviet aid for a European disarmament conference as proposed by France.

Page 11
Many: East-West ties: When an EEC Foreign Minister visits Warsaw, Budapest, Bonn, Bern or Moscow, his views are no longer to differ substantially from those of his nine counterparts.

Page 12
Many: Priority is to be given to a joint approach to peace in the Middle East.

Page 13
Many: Carrington, the current chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers, is to present in Riyadh the European Community's views on the peace proposals.

Page 14
Many: Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Fahd. These proposals both call for Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories.

Page 15
Many: The GERMAN TRIBUNE is conducting a readership survey. With some time this week a postcard is included. Please fill it in and return as quickly as possible. DO NOT fill in the card if you have already done so this year.

tory and include, for the first time, the prospect of recognition of Israel by the Arab world.

Europe can count itself lucky that the crisis in world affairs come at a time when two key EEC countries are working towards comprehensive consolidation of the Common Market.

They are Britain, where the Conservatives are in power, and France, where the Socialists head the government.

The Community development programme of President Mitterrand includes proposals which would have been welcome from his predecessors, but were not made.

The French head of state lists ideas ranging from a common energy policy to a joint policy of developing key industries for the future.

Besides, the London decisions on a common foreign policy would have been inconceivable had the Gaullists still held power in Paris.

What, then, may come of the ideas put forward by Bonn's Foreign Minister, Herr Genscher, on a European Union? He and Lord Carrington have for months pleaded the cause of a common approach to foreign and security policy.

Common Market countries such as Italy and the Benelux states would follow suit without a moment's hesitation. A draft tabled jointly by Bonn and Rome could be ready in time for the late-November London EEC summit.

Parliamentarians in Nato countries are finding it difficult to come to terms with the peace movement, according to delegates at the 27th annual conference of the North Atlantic Assembly in Munich.

The movement is by no means limited to the Federal Republic of Germany, and speakers made it clear that it is jeopardising the unifying effect of external threat.

The 14 Nato nations were represented by 172 members of the 14 legislatures.

Chancellor Schmidt sent a message to the meeting from his sickbed in Koblenz. He referred to Nato as the largest peace organisation of them all.

He also said, very much in line with Nato policy, that peacekeeping would be a major item on the agenda of his talks with Mr Brezhnev.

The declared aim of the North Atlantic pact is to keep and safeguard the peace by means of an active policy, preferably on the basis of an East-West balance of power at as low a level as possible.

This consistent Nato policy line has invariably held the Western alliance together despite the different paths member-countries have chosen at times to tread.

The external threat from the East, often posed by so many power-political



Jovial after surgery

Chancellor Schmidt leaving hospital in Koblenz with his wife, Loki, after a heart operation in which a pacemaker was installed. He was quickly back at work. (See page 3). (Photo: dpa)

But misgivings have been voiced. America must not, it has been pointed out, gain the impression that the European offers protection plan to go it alone.

That is why all organised attempts to arrive at a common EEC policy are being kept to a low profile.

There are two reasons why this circumspection is advisable. For one, EEC foreign policy will be sure to differ somewhat from America's, especially in the Middle East.

Second, the United States is both an Atlantic and a Pacific power. In a few

years' time it will no longer be dependent on oil from the Middle East (unlike Western Europe).

So American interests clearly do not always tally with those of the European Community.

The conclusions the Common Market is beginning to reach are that European foreign policy may not always go hand in hand with America's but that free partnership with the United States is desirable.

This is a point on which all the Ten are agreed. Hermann Bohle (Der Tagespiegel, 16 October 1981)

Nato countries discuss war and peace

activities on the Kremlin's part, has played a key role in ensuring that the justification for Nato's existence has never been seriously questioned.

Richard Stücklen, president of the Bonn Bundestag, was mistaken in defining the peace movement as a minority that had been struck blind.

So was Mr Duffy, representing the British Labour Party, who seriously called on Nato to endorse the peace movement and so to undermine its own resolutions.

Views thus varied, just as they differed on the attitude Nato ought to take on a Middle East settlement.

This showed at least that beginnings of a change in the general tenor of opinion in Western Europe were starting to make their mark on Nato.

What, then, was to be done with supporters of the peace movement who could not be dismissed as the Kremlin's fifth column?

What was the right attitude to adopt

towards people motivated solely by anxiety about arms stockpiles in East and West going up with a bang?

In the past defence pacts in general and Nato in particular have based their public relations work on considerations of military strategy without which defence policies are out of the question.

It is now clear that more attention must be paid to powers of conviction too.

A wide-ranging majority of Western European opinion is in favour of Nato and its aims. Forward public relations work must play its part in ensuring that Nato continues to enjoy this support.

Objectively but with a sense of commitment, it must outline the part Nato plays in keeping the peace, in ensuring social progress and in upholding the freedoms that are the bedrock of all Western democracies.

The Americans have indicated to the Russians that they are willing to talk about more than Euromissiles, where the Russians clearly hold the upper hand.

Washington would also be willing to talk about a balance of power at all levels of armament.

This is surely a point at which powers of persuasion could be used to good effect right now.

Bodo Schulte (Nordwest Zeitung, 16 October 1981)

WORLD AFFAIRS

Cancun summit: wrestling with the problems of two hemispheres

The leaders of 22 countries met in Cancun, Mexico, to review problems facing the developing world and to try and restart North-South dialogue.

They hoped to pave the way for global negotiations under UN auspices in the course of which the two hemispheres were to come to terms.

The North-South summit was held partly in view of a recommendation in the Brandt Report.

It must be seen against the background of the dramatic deterioration in the position of the developing countries, especially the poorest.

World population is rapidly increasing. Hundreds of billions of dollars are squandered on armaments. The destruction of man's natural habitat continues unabated.

The world's population is about 4.5 billion. By the end of the century it is expected to reach 6.5 billion, including about two billion living in absolute poverty and one billion suffering from malnutrition.

So despite the cultivation of high-yield varieties of wheat or rice, despite improved irrigation techniques and farming methods, food problems will grow worse.

They would be easier to solve if only some six million hectares of arable and pasture land in the drier parts of the world were not reclaimed by the desert every year.

In Sudan, for instance, the Sahara has

moved 90km south over the past 17 years. Along the northern perimeter of the Sahara about 100,000 hectares a year are lost to the desert.

About 200,000 to 300,000 hectares a year all over the world grow unsuitable for cultivation as a result of unsatisfactory irrigation. Either salt or alkali makes the land barren.

Even worse, a fifth of the world's agricultural acreage is threatened or affected by erosion.

Growing ecological problems result from inordinate and one-sided exploitation of natural resources, from more and more exhaust fumes, effluent and waste.

Depopulation of the countryside leads to more slums and additional environmental problems.

In 1950 there were 48 million people in the Third World who lived in cities with a population of over one million. By 1985 there will, in all probability, be nearly 500 million living in 147 gigantic cities.

Already up to half the inhabitants of many cities are slum-dwellers.

The developing countries' share in world trade increased only slightly in the 70s. It still amounts to no more than a quarter, including the Opec countries' 10 per cent.

Their main trading partners are the industrialised countries, who account for about two thirds of the developing countries' imports and exports, whereas only a quarter of their exports go to the Third World.

The developing countries still earn most of their export revenue from marketing raw materials; in some countries commodity exports account for 80 or 90 per cent of the total.

On aggregate the industrialised countries remain in surplus in their trade with the Third World, although exceptions prove the rule.

The Federal Republic of Germany, for instance, is in deficit in trade with overseas developing countries.

The balance of payments of many developing countries has taken a dramatic turn for the worse even though net capital transfers to the Third World increased from \$19bn in 1970 to \$81bn in 1979 and the developing countries fund 80 per cent of their investment.

Yet the Third World's overall debts have increased from \$100bn to \$350bn, or more than trebled, in this period and a number of developing countries have been unable to meet their commitments.

At the end of last year Bonn agreed with 17 of the world's poorest countries to write off loans which, with interest payments, would have totalled DM3.5bn.

The higher price of energy is one of the main reasons why the developing countries are so deep in debt.

Their overall oil bill has increased from \$8bn in 1973 to \$70bn in 1980. It more than doubled in just two years.

Against this gloomy background it is easy to see why the developing countries are levelling extremely heavy demands at the industrialised world.

Honecker and Schmidt sense a change of climate

Soviet troops may overrun Afghan mountain villages and Poland may no longer be safe but that has not stopped Herr Schmidt and Herr Honecker from making a third attempt to hold their intra-German summit.

Relations between Bonn and East Berlin may be better pigeonholed as home affairs, in one sense of the term, and only indirectly as foreign policy, but they are a sensitive pointer to the weather in Moscow.

Superficially there has been no change in the circumstances of late. What, then, accounts for the sudden revival of interest in the intra-German summit?

Soviet interests and those of East Berlin are interlinked. Moscow always decides the issue, but the GDR does not limit itself exclusively to toying the line laid down by Mr Brezhnev.

It allows itself to be used by Moscow while at the same time trying to put its own financial wishes into effect.

It pursues Soviet objectives in respect of the West, accepting as a binding rule the limits to leeway set by Moscow, yet aims at the same time to do bilateral business.

A number of deadlines in the West are seen by the Soviet Union as promising points on which to bring joint influence to bear.

They include implementation of the Nato missile modernisation and disarmament talks decision and the Social Democrats' party conference, due in a matter of months. So the GDR too is back in business.

In the summer of 1980, when Herr Honecker refused to allow Chancellor Schmidt to visit Rostock and Güstrow, whereupon the visit was postponed, he was worried about Poland.

With German thoroughness the East Berlin leaders expected events to take a drastic course in Poland, making it advisable to cut to bare, non-committal routine all contacts with the West.

Besides, the detailed preparations for the talks by Bonn, little of which was divulged at the time, would have made the GDR leader distinctly less enthusiastic about the intra-German summit.

East Berlin has since realised that Poland has emerged as a chronically sick man of the East bloc and badly in need of Western economic backing.

The GDR has sensed that the Soviet interest in retaining control over Poland does not extend to a ban on ties between East Berlin and Bonn. Moscow has more pressing worries.

Thus East Berlin's leeway for ties with the West has increased to an extent that allows the GDR to derive specific benefit of its own.

The GDR now seems to be considering what bilateral prospects it might have, with a view to possibly linking them with moves against the West's security policy.

East Berlin's leeway towards Bonn is more limited than it was before the summer of 1980 and developments in Poland.

The GDR has to make sure Moscow cannot even suspect that ties with Bonn might breach the policy of demarcation and lead to Polish ideas taking root in East Berlin.

That is why Herr Honecker can hardly afford to risk making substantial intra-German offers of any kind, such as a reduction of the age over which GDR citizens are allowed to visit the West.

At the same time he would doubtless enjoy being able to make a gesture of limited concession and to feel the easier atmosphere that might result from a meeting with Herr Schmidt.

The GDR leader would gladly take the kudos to be gained from meeting the Bonn Chancellor on equal terms, given that Herr Schmidt enjoys a high international reputation.

Mr. Brezhnev's visit to Bonn next month should make it easier to set new bounds to East Berlin's ties with the West. The Soviet leader would be happy to see Herr Honecker given backing.

He will be in Bonn three days before the beginning of the Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear missiles, so it would be surprising if Mr Brezhnev were not to pull some spectacular offer or other out of the hat.

He might, for instance, offer a unilateral Soviet missile moratorium for the duration of the talks, expecting the West German peace movement, especially its advocates in the SPD, to ensure the West replied in kind.

The West, of course, would be expected to forgo stationing fresh missiles in Europe in return.

A unilateral missile moratorium by the Soviet Union would not, for the

time being, reduce Soviet superiority, it would certainly put the cat among the pigeons in the West.

Shortly afterwards, before the summit conference, Herr Schmidt is due to visit Herr Honecker in the GDR.

At the last congress of the SED, Honecker's party, the GDR suggested that intra-German progress might be benefited by Bonn showing willingness to accept a missile modernisation.

East Berlin has yet to say that it would renounce its missile modernisation, but the two can meet, but progress for the intra-German summit has not yet seriously begun.

The GDR must realise that any sine qua non would inevitably mean a summit.

East Berlin could, however, feel more mention of linkage between pressure on America and progress in intra-German ties over and above current

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Political questions follow Schmidt's heart surgery

Their interests may no longer be identical but the Third World countries still share a number of aims.

According to Ifo, the Munich research institute, the developing countries have the following common objectives in common:

- National sovereignty on economic issues.
- A greater say in the decisions by international organisations.
- Greater benefit from economic growth with the industrialised countries.

In detail they aim at stable commodity prices and export earnings. Other words, higher commodity prices. Their objective here is an international raw materials programme with a common fund to finance buffer stocks to promote the exploitation and processing of raw materials.

The Third World countries would like to increase their share of industrial output from the present 10 per cent to 25 per cent by the end of the century.

They further aim at keeping multinational corporations in check and forming the international monetary system to mobilise cut-rate development aid loans.

Most of these demands are felt to be unacceptable in their present form. At the end of this legislative period the industrialised world, although Chancellor's 16-hour work day will have made him suppress or the warning that lay in the fact that he had repeatedly had to go to the Military Hospital for treatment.

This is conceded, for instance, in the aspect of Third World calls for better access to industrialised markets.

It went without saying that the summit could hardly be expected to accept Third World demands. But there was a growing appreciation of North-South interdependence, which was at least a step forward.

Peter Klusener (Kleiner Nachrichten, 19 October 1981)

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Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, has been placed in his heart. The operation at the military hospital in Bonn was decided on after an examination revealed that there was a danger of irregularities in the heartbeat.

If Chancellor Schmidt resumes normal work soon, his heart cannot fail to have political consequences.

How optimistic the statement about his physical condition, question his personal future remain open. They are naturally also questions about the future of his government.

Free Democrats have always been that their coalition with the Social Democrats on the government being Helmut Schmidt.

He is 62 now and must ask himself whether the warning signal from his heart should not make him consider the arduous work of a Chancellor at the end of this legislative period.

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Chancellor Schmidt on the way back home after the operation. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Hans Apel and Hans Jochen Vogel have manoeuvred themselves out of the main field; Hans Matthöfer has already dismissed any such ideas due to his own heart problems.

And Willy Brandt is keeping his cards close to his chest.

One thing is for sure, however. The party's left wing, headed by Erhard Eppler, is striving for the majority even at the risk of shattering the coalition.

Helmut Schmidt's heart rhythm disorder may be corrected through the pacemaker. But the unrest in the coalition is now even more unlikely to settle than before.

Hans Jörg Sottorf (Handelsblatt, 15 October 1981)

The foreign and above all Western European response to the Bonn Peace March indicates concern over a "new nationalism from the left" rather than the revival of anti-Western civilisation fatigue.

The controversial question among the Greens as to whether their aims are better promoted within or outside Parliament has been decided inasmuch as they managed to capture seats in a number of States.

There, it has now been brought home to them how difficult it is to convert ideas and general objectives into practical politics.

Should the new movement succeed in entering the Bundestag as well in 1984, these difficulties are bound to multiply.

The SPD (and, to a lesser extent, the FDP) are likely to be drawn into the ever more dangerous vortex of splitting tendencies within their parties. This would mean that they would be weakened still further as coalition partners.

And should that happen, even Chancellor Schmidt could not dispel doubts as to their ability to govern.

Should the desire to be in the opposition — and this is no longer unthinkable — lead to a split, the conservatives waiting time would in all likelihood be shortened.

This is one way in which the first transition from opposition to government appears conceivable.

While in Britain the split of the Labour Party has improved the chances of a Liberal-Social government, the more likely possibility in this country would be a Liberal-Conservative government.

The petrification of the parties would thus be broken. But the question as to how such still diffuse trends would affect day-to-day parliamentary work in the face of diminishing growth and growing demands remains to be answered.

Hans Schuster (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 October 1981)

Opposition maintains course

CDU foreign and security policy will remain unchanged, for the time being anyway.

Franz Josef Strauss opposes any change and so do the foreign policy experts of the party and CDU journalists. Opposition leader Helmut Kohl considers that a review has already taken place.

The internal CDU dispute over foreign and security policy has flared up again sooner than anticipated.

So it is interesting to see the attitudes of CDU voters on the current issues under dispute — interesting not only for the CDU but also for SPD strategists.

It was therefore the Social Democratic planners who took the trouble to analyse opinion polls with that particular question in mind.

In doing so, they used opinion surveys made by several institutes in the first half of this year.

Some of the details that transpired are noteworthy.

- Double Nato decision: 61 per cent of CDU/CSU voters (SPD: 72) want to "negotiate immediately and not boost defences." Only 32 per cent of the CDU/CSU voters (SPD: 21) favoured the basic concept of the decision, i.e. "instant negotiations and simultaneous revamping of defences."

- 66 per cent of CDU/CSU voters (SPD: 46) approved of the thesis: "If no successful negotiations are possible, we must revamp our defences to make up for the Russians' headway." And 30 per cent (SPD: 50) opted for the formulation: "Since negotiations are tedious and take a long time, no revamping of defences for the time being because the West is strong enough anyway."

- Introduction of the neutron weapon for Nato: "Rather in favour": 47 per cent (35); "Rather against": 50 per cent (62).

- For close military, foreign policy and social ties with the USA: 27 (21).

- For military but not social ties with the USA: 51 (45).

- For military and social independence from the USA: 22 (34).

This picture of public opinion essentially corresponds to the public disputes between the politicians of the two major camps.

But the picture presented by CDU voters is much less uniform than the conservatives would like to make us believe. The differences between the CDU leadership and its voters are particularly sharp over the neutron weapon.

Disregarding the old dispute within the CDU/CSU, the picture presented by the polls is interesting for two reasons: first, the relatively strong minority of dissenters among CDU voters represents a vulnerable point of attack for the political opponent and, secondly, the minority positions extend far beyond dyed-in-the-wool CDU/CSU voters right into the political centre of the electorate.

It is from there that Geisler wants to recruit the necessary additional votes for the CDU by heavy campaigning. Kohl wants exactly the same, but he wants to go about it more discreetly.

Werner A. Perger (Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 11 October 1981)

GERMANY

The motivating forces behind the Great Arms Debate

On the 32nd anniversary of the GDR, there was a military parade on Karl-Marx-Allee in East Berlin. Tanks, missiles and the entire arsenal of modern weaponry were paraded past party officials.

Tens of thousands of working people from the capital city lined up to greet the march-past enthusiastically. *Neues Deutschland*, the party newspaper proudly proclaimed.

Three days later the largest demonstration since the war was held in the Federal Republic of Germany, but it was dedicated to peace.

Die Welt said: "People laugh a lot, people you have never seen in your life before link arms. White flags and banners outnumber the red, and there is music everywhere."

"There are Irish folk songs to the sound of the pipes, working class songs and chansons, then, suddenly drowning them all, the chorus of the Internationale and the strains of 'We shall overcome', the song of the US civil rights movement."

"At the end, in response to a loudspeaker appeal, hundreds of people creep through the mud to collect waste paper and trash that are piled up in enormous heaps."

Die Welt appropriately headlined the article: "Bonn Half Fortress, Half Festival."

Several Communist organisations took



part in the Bonn demonstration. One wonders whether they would have preferred to swell the ranks of the enthusiastic crowds in East Berlin.

In Bonn they made little or no impact on the general, mainly cheerful community spirit, but that did not prevent Opposition leader Helmut Kohl from talking in terms of a Popular Front of Social Democrats and Communists.

He did so because 50 SPD members of the Bonn Bundestag had endorsed the demonstration against the wishes of the parliamentary party.

One was, indeed, left with the impression that a number of the government's critics felt unable, despite the surprisingly peaceful nature of the protest, to part company with the visions of horror they had been expecting.

Herbert Kremp wrote a gloomy editorial in the very issue of *Die Welt* from which the cheerful description already quoted was taken:

"The pathos of a new era was apparent, a note of radical change," he wrote, "which unlike the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition of the late-60s, had specific objectives."

What can have accounted for the discrepancy between the two? The demo

was, of course, far from uniform. Some of the main speakers and a fair number of groups of various kinds did indeed have specific objectives.

Heinrich Albertz, for instance, the former Berlin mayor, is unable to disabuse himself of the absurd idea that the Federal Republic of Germany is an occupied country.

Erhard Eppler, a fellow-Social Democrat, former Bonn Cabinet Minister and SPD leader in Baden-Württemberg, was unable to resist the temptation to use demagogic turns of phrase such as "breaking the bonds" or "the language of slaves."

But the overwhelming majority of the 250,000 people who took part in the demo, especially the young people, did so for the experience, especially that of feeling their views were confirmed by strength of numbers.

TV reporters who asked demonstrators whether they had been on previous demos were repeatedly told: "No, it's the first time I've ever been on one."

They were also told: "Yes, I'd take part in one again provided no violence was expected."

This summer an opinion poll by Emnid, the Bielefeld market research institute, revealed that 69 per cent of people in the Federal Republic objected to taking an active part in peace movement campaigns.

A mere nine per cent had lent them support in the past, while 90 per cent were of the opinion that the Bundeswehr served to help keep the peace.

As for objectives, the appeal launched by Aktion Sühnezeichen und Aktionsgemeinschaft Dienst für den Frieden, joint sponsors of the Bonn demo, read as follows:

"We call on the governments of NATO countries to withdraw their approval of the decision to station new medium-range missiles in Europe."

The reference is to the twofold NATO resolution, reached in Brussels in December 1979, which said that the superpowers must agree to reduce the number of new Soviet missiles aimed at targets in Eastern Europe and that, failing agreement, the West would have to embark on a missile modernisation programme of its own from 1983.

So the aim of the Bonn protest was to scrap a resolution for which Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher had worked enthusiastically and untiringly.

Bonn's efforts in this direction may be outlined starting with the agreement reached by Herr Schmidt and Mr Brezhnev in May 1978.

After long and difficult negotiations the two men agreed in writing that no-one was to aim at military superiority and that approximate equality and parity were a sine qua non of further cooperation and arms cuts.

In June, 1979 the Chancellor urgently advised the Soviet Union, which had carried on regardless with its medium-range missile build-up, to abide by the terms of the agreement, otherwise NATO would have no choice but to go ahead with missile modernisation.

This warning was to no avail, whereupon NATO reached its December 1979 twofold decision, which was the first of its kind to use the stick and the carrot

in this way. Either disarmament were to be negotiated or the States would embark on an arms race of its own.

Then the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and talks between Washington and Moscow ground to a halt.

Helmut Schmidt made one of the speeches he has ever delivered in Bundestag on the day before the demo.

"To those who are plagued by today," he said, "I should like to say: I too was worried when, at the end of last year, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and the superpowers were broken off. Washington and Moscow no longer on speaking terms, let alone engaged in the works."

It took him 18 months of hard work to play a key role in ensuring that the USA agreed to start official talks with the Russians on 30 November.

It was not only tough negotiations. The Chancellor was repeatedly accused of appeasement, of letting the Russians and the Chinese off the hook.

And now the results of these negotiations, together with the number of idealists believed in disarmament, were more likely to be the cause of peace.

They felt that the right attitude, peace-maker's frame of mind, was enough to ensure that the required disarmament, peace, would reign.

When the point is argued with convinced members of the peace movement it is easy to see why it is so difficult to come to terms with them.

At this point reason is lost against emotion. They say they feel nothing for reason. Where has it gone? The answer given is that 30 years ago was spent on arms in a world where famine reigns in many areas, yet no one has gained one iota in security.

Indeed, the argument continues, risk of everyone going up in smoke of these days is greater than ever.

True, the arms race and mutual defence have kept the peace for the 36 years but are by no means the cause of doing so ad infinitum.

It could well be that the arms race may gain a momentum of its own, get out of control entirely.

Yet there is no indication whatsoever that headlong unilateral disarmament would ensure greater security. When the link between the emotional demand for peace on the one, and peace on the other?

Where is the transmission? How is emotion to be converted into politics?

The progress of a grassroots movement of this kind, unhindered by objective necessities or existing party, conference decisions or the like, is not followed by action, frustration spreads — or left-wing enthusiasm followed by the desire for a right-wing strongman.

The Bonn correspondent of the *York Times* was wrong in conveying an impression that anti-Americanism, neutralism, anti-demonstrations on the streets.

Their motives are, in reality, more deep-seated. *Anger* is the common denominator. People are worried about the destruction of nature in the industrialised world, about the commercialisation of values and the loss of the possibility of a Third World War. People have always been worried

Continued on page 5

STATE SECURITY

Taking the lid off the undercover works

Federal Republic of Germany's intelligence organisation, the Bundesnachrichtendienst, has been operating for 30 years. It is subject to control by parliamentary committees which are to supervise. With a few exceptions, the BND does its job well. There have been internal scandals revealed and many renegades ready to throw a spanner in the works.

Many of the BND's agents are stationed abroad. They report back regularly that may affect the Federal Republic's security including foreign affairs, information, economic matters, technology and other military intelligence.

The agency also watches other intelligence agencies, so it is involved in counter-intelligence, together with the Federal Protection of the Constitution and its state counterparts.

It also carries out specific missions outside Germany for the government. This, the agency answers to the Chancellor, Manfred Lahmst, affairs, peace, would reign.

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Continued on page 5

which Department III is seen as the most important. It is this department that is in charge of obtaining and analysing political, military, economic, scientific and technological information. The results are forwarded directly to the Chancellor or to the Ministry that commissioned the work. The reports are formulated in a way that makes it impossible to establish the sources of information.

Department I engages in classical intelligence work abroad through a network of informers.

Department II is in charge of technical intelligence. It relies heavily on the monitoring of the telecommunications of foreign military command posts. Unlike the operators in the field, the men who staff Department II run no personal risks.

Department IV evaluates material it is fed and drafts the relevant reports. In doing so, it naturally makes the greatest possible use of electronic data processing.

The BND is staffed by people specialised in 30 academic professions plus civil servants, soldiers and other employees.

Its activities are governed by strict regulations and subject to tight controls. These controls are not so much exercised by the executive branch but by parliament, through four Bundestag committees.

The control mechanisms do not follow any regular pattern but usually become active when something goes wrong.

The top controlling body is the Parliamentary Control Commission which consists of the floor leaders of the parties represented in the Bundestag and a number of MPs with specialised knowledge in the field of intelligence.

Then there is the G-10 Committee which consists of five MPs from the parties represented in the Bundestag.

Its specific control function is to watch over the strict adherence to Article 10 of the Constitution which protects the citizen from eavesdropping by the authorities.

A sub-committee of G-10 evaluates circumstances under which the constitutionally guaranteed postal and telephone secrecy may be lifted.

The BND is extremely reluctant to talk about successes or failures.

Some 300 GDR agents defected to the West between the establishment of the BND as an arm of the sovereign Bonn government, (its predecessor was the Gehlen Organisation which operated under American jurisdiction) and the building by East Germany of the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961. Another 50



Headquarters of the BND... where the plots are hatched and unhatched. (Photo: BND)

defectors made their way to West Germany via various East Bloc countries.

But even during the Gehlen era the organisation was successful in uncovering and "turning" East Bloc agents operating in this country.

For a long time, Germany was a playground not only for GDR spies but also for agents from other Communist countries, primarily Poland.

It is meanwhile common knowledge that the embassies of East Bloc countries are staffed with "diplomats" on special assignments.

The BND has been instrumental in the uncovering and arrest of many East Bloc spies.

Take "Operation Bohemia" when the Americans persuaded intelligence officers of the Czechoslovakian intelligence sub-agency in Karlovy Vary to defect to West Germany. This led to the unmasking of many East Bloc agents who later stood trial in Munich.

In another spectacular mission dubbed "Operation Daisy", the chief secretary of GDR Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl was prompted to defect to this country. There have been many other unpublished missions of this nature.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia by East Bloc troops in 1968 came as no surprise.

Not only was Bonn forewarned by direct agents' reports, but the Communications Battalion of the Defence Ministry stationed in Rheinbach near Bonn had monitored the various troop movements by radio.

The defection to the West of Lt. Stiller and his secretary in 1979 dealt a severe blow to the East Berlin Ministry of State Security.

Stiller and his secretary, managed to bring with them a huge array of files on the East German intelligence network.

This bold venture caused such a setback to East Bloc intelligence that the entire spy network had to be reorganised from top to bottom.

Many East Bloc agents operating in

the West were unmasked as a result of the papers.

West Germany's counter-intelligence gathered startling new insights into the methods of East Bloc intelligence operations.

In addition, the information provided by Stiller proved of enormous economic value.

It goes without saying that any information gathered is passed on to our allies.

This exchange of information takes place on a bilateral basis. The results of information gathering missions abroad and their degree of urgency are relayed to the various government departments in Bonn, primarily the Defence Ministry plus the Ministries of Economic Affairs, Interior and Science and Technology.

In the recent past, the BND has concentrated its work on developments in conflict areas world-wide, among them Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq, Chad and, lately, Poland.

The BND has its price — but then there can be no security at bargain rates.

For 1981, the federal government had to budget for DM177m to maintain the agency.

Those who get a chance to take a closer look at the Pullach headquarters are invariably startled by the spartan nature and clockwork precision of the organisation.

Though the offices in the building where, during the Hitler era, Martin Bormann planned his extermination campaigns are functional and now bear perfectly human traits, it is impossible not to get a shudder at the thought of what was done within those walls during that darkest era of German history.

The BND's work unfolds in an atmosphere of absolute devotion to duty and far from any publicity.

Naturally, there have been mistakes and they should not be swept under the carpet — any more than outstanding successes.

There was, for instance, Heinz Felfa who held one of the top positions at the agency with the reports of all agents abroad landing on his desk until the day when he was uncovered as an East Berlin spy and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

And a dark shadow was cast on the agency when its founder, Reinhard Gehlen, published his book *Der Dienst* (The Service) that was liberally sprinkled with internal tit-bits. It was a disservice to the service he had founded.

Carl Schopert

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 October 1981)

(Mainländer Morgen, 10 October 1981)

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■ THE ECONOMY

Silver lining brightens up dark horizon



Winter approaches, and with it its negative effects on employment in the construction industry.

But there is a silver lining on an otherwise bleak economic horizon: demand from abroad has been rising since last autumn.

For many branches of industry foreign demand during the past few months has been the strongest if not the only source of growth. It must, however, be taken into account that the weak deutschmark before the revaluation and competitive prices have improved the position of German products on international markets.

Growing exports have led to a pronounced improvement in Germany's balance of payments in the past few months.

The current account deficit, which reached a record high in the first quarter of this year, has diminished greatly, says the September Bundesbank report. This is primarily due to growing foreign trade surpluses.

But it remains to be seen whether the Bundesbank will succeed in halving last year's DM30bn deficit. This will largely depend on the development of exports and imports.

The revaluation of the deutschmark and the Dutch guilder in conjunction with the devaluation of the French franc and the Italian lira have created new economic conditions.

True, any appreciation of a currency acts as a brake on exports. But by the same token experience shows that revaluations curb inflation while devaluations speed it up. The reason is simple. Currency appreciation makes imports cheaper.

Countries that have revalued currencies must redouble their efforts to rationalise industry and to curb wage increases.

And then there is this: If a currency revalues and hence becomes internationally more valuable, more people want it, and inclination to invest in it grows.

The deutschmark's problems until the revaluation arose from exactly the opposite set of circumstances.

This, coupled with America's high interest policy, forced the Bundesbank to keep its own interest rates high: and this, in turn, curbed the business community's inclination to invest.

The recent reduction of the Bundesbank's Lombard rate by one per cent is a mere gesture that will have little practical effect for the moment.

The investment inclination in this country — a key element in bolstering the economy — is weak.

Domestic industrial orders were declining against last year in the period from May to August.

According to a report by the Organisation for European Cooperation and Development (OECD), the share of gross investments in the GNP of the Federal Republic of Germany will decline this year by a full percentage point (or DM15bn) to a share of 22.4 per cent. The major element here is the decline

in housing construction investment by eight per cent (in real terms).

In 1975 there was a post-war record of 1,226 bankruptcies in the construction industry. This is likely to be topped this year with an anticipated 1,300.

The Schimmelpfeng Credit Rating Agency anticipates a total of about 11,500 bankruptcies this year — 25 per cent more than last year and 20 per cent more than in 1977.

Employment in the construction industry is likely to continue its sharp decline. Construction prices have already risen by an average of five per cent this year and the Federation of German Industry predicts further sharp price increases starting from 1983 due to diminished capacities.

There is an investment slump in Germany today. Yet it is right now that we need massive investment to replace obsolete plant and machinery.

Across the board, German industry today operates with older machinery than it did before the mid-1970s recession.

A long-term strategy must also take into account that the number of job seekers will be rising by an annual 140,000 until 1987.

The necessary jobs cannot be created by government measures — which in any event cannot be financed for budgetary reasons.

To create new jobs we need better sales and profit prospects; in other words: a greater inclination to invest.

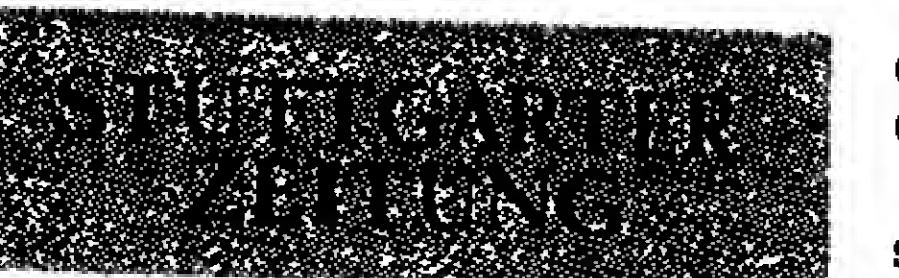
Bonn's Economic Affairs Ministry stressed in its latest monthly report that its greatest concern is the labour market.

The latest data released by the Federal Labour Office are anything but encouraging.

Though the number of jobless diminished slightly to 1.256m in September, this is purely seasonal.

The unemployment rate of 5.4 per

Bundesbank makes borrowing just a little cheaper



The Bundesbank has lowered the Lombard rate (at which banks can use securities as collateral for borrowing) from 12 per cent to 11.

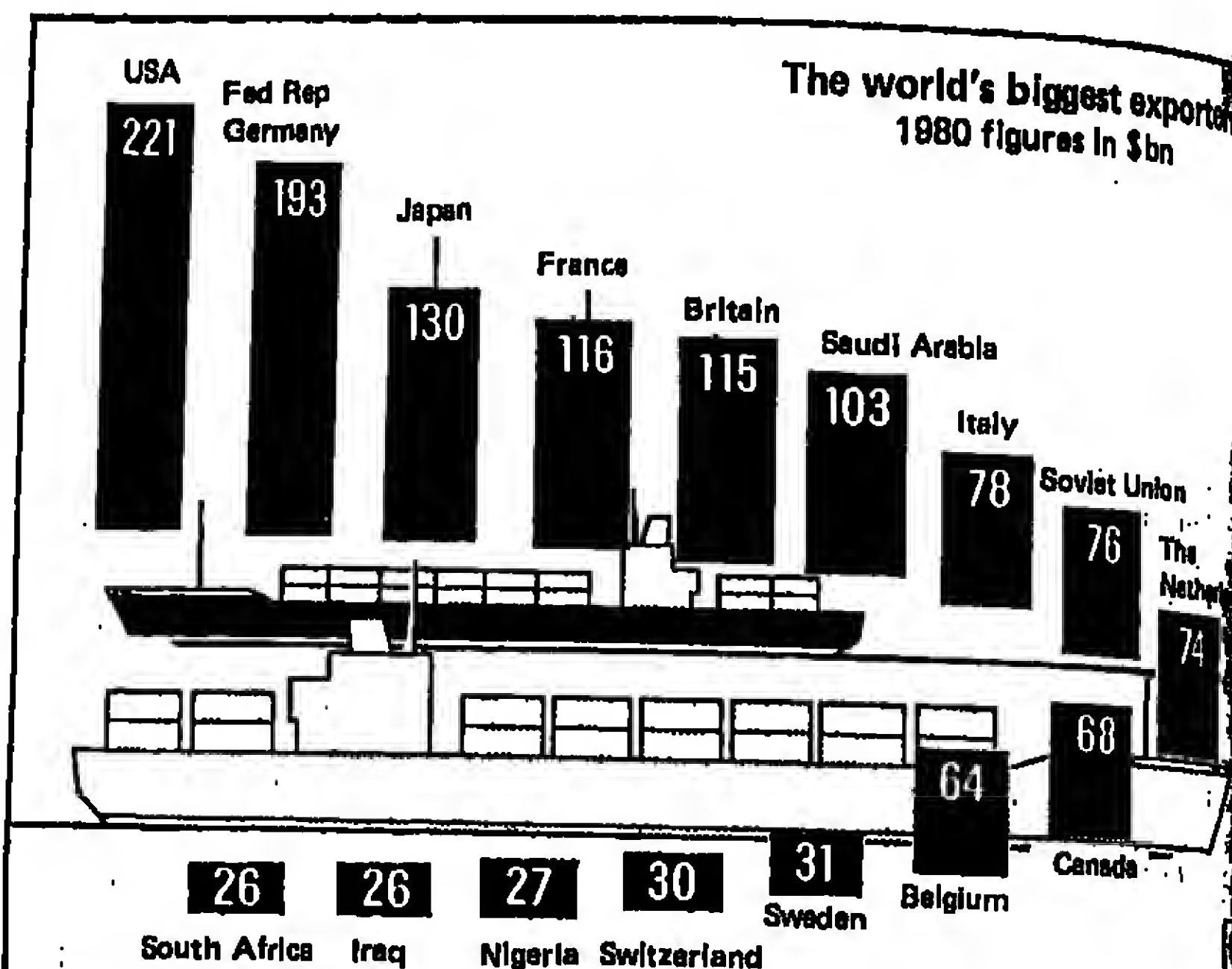
This indicates that the bank is cautiously willing to ease off the money brake.

It doesn't, however, mean that it is doing an about-face on credit policy.

Bundesbank president Karl Otto Pöhl is essentially continuing on the course he embarked on recently by providing banks with additional liquidity and so checking further interest rate increases.

This gentle loosening up was facilitated by the latest developments on foreign exchange markets.

The revalued deutschmark has acquired new lustre — not only within the European Monetary System but also against the dollar — which has improved



cent (5.5 in August and 3.5 as an annual average for last year) "bodes ill for the winter," says Labour Office President Josef Stügel.

He anticipates a further rise next year, and does not exclude the possibility of the figure reaching 1.7m as forecast by some economic research institutes.

This would drain public coffers by billions of deutschmarks and could well lead to a sharp decline in private consumption.

There has already been a decline in private consumption this year — by about one per cent in the first half. This confirms the old experience that people save more when prospects are bleak.

The savings quota rose from 14.1 per cent in the last quarter of 1980 to 16 per cent in the second quarter of this year.

According to an analysis by Bayerische Landesbank, private consumption would have been up DM7bn had the savings quota in the first half of 1981 remained the same as last year. To keep things in perspective, it must be borne in mind that some 55 per cent of GNP is accounted for by private consumption.

And when growth in this sector falls below zero it becomes extremely difficult to make up for it by stepped up investments and exports.

Also the consumer price index for

our balance of payments and made energy imports cheaper.

The current account is showing clear signs of recovery, which is unlikely to be hampered by the fact that our export goods have become more expensive due to the appreciation of the deutschmark.

Even so, the Bundesbank has resisted demands by the trade unions to loosen up more significantly on the tight money policy because it still considers the inflation rate too high and the public sector deficit too large.

But despite this cautious attitude on the part of the Bundesbank, change could come swiftly.

Should, for instance, the deutschmark continue to appreciate, the rise in the exchange rate would have to be checked by lowering the interest rates.

The economy, with its stagnation of domestic demand, could do with such a shot in the arm.

This could well happen soon unless circumstances change.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 October 1981)

September was up 6.5 per cent against the same month last year.

Even if the annual inflation average for 1981 is unlikely to reach this figure, it is certain to exceed the per cent mark forecast by the government.

Naturally, this has an effect on incomes. The inflation rate next year likely to be curbed somewhat because imported goods will become cheaper.

And 1982 wage deals are likely to be more moderate than this year's.

Poor domestic demand will probably lead to an overall decline in the GNP, and it would be inadvisable to one per cent, despite the fact that GNP in the first half of this year was about the same as in the second half of 1980.

Even so, the Bundesbank committee in Bonn resolved to "forge ahead with large-scale production of gas, oil, and coal at full speed and in the most efficient manner."

Development programme was outlined in the mid-80s, which is fast in line with Bonn standards.

Government grants were to be provided to expedite the full-scale development of coal gasification and liquefaction.

programme may not bring about immediate improvement in oil and gas supplies," Bonn said at the time. "But from the mid-80s it will make an increasing contribution towards gas supplies."

Using coal might not yet be economical, the government said, but by the mid-80s it probably would be.

Projects of this kind were encouraged and submitted for consideration by the government in 1980. Four companies interested in grants. Four were submitted by well-known firms such as Veba, Ruhrkohle, Thyssen, Rheinbraun, Filok and others.

But the Hamburg Institute for Economic Research (HWWA) forecast a noticeable revival of world trade next year. The figure spoken of is a growth rate of three to four per cent. By the same token, this year will see a slight decline.

Will our public sector finances be put on a sound footing and thus provide a viable incentive for private investment?

The 1982 Federal budget provides for a deficit of DM27bn (down on last year's DM35bn). The shift from a heavily consumption-dominated public sector to the private sector must be seen as completed.

Businessmen need a clear-cut confidence-inspiring economic policy and an investment incentive.

Volker Wittenberg

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 October 1981)

ENERGY

Massive plans for coal conversion run into wave of disinclination

Bonn government's coal development programme adopted in January has already turned out to be a flop.

The coal gasification projects were being considered by the Economic Ministry.

By the end of May this year, there had been 11 projects submitted for coal gasification. All three are now in doubt.

There just isn't the cash available.

From a few pilot projects, there are no major coal refineries in the Ruhr regions, and none in the rest of Germany.

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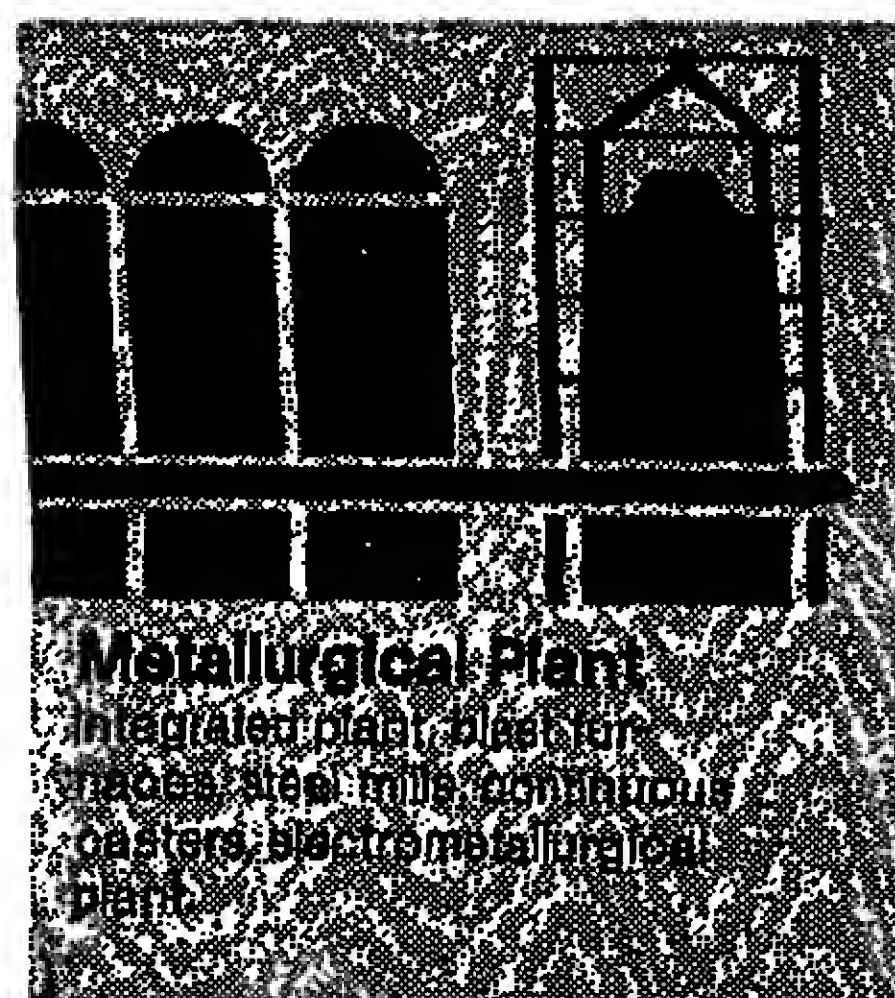
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**MANNESMANN
DEMAG**

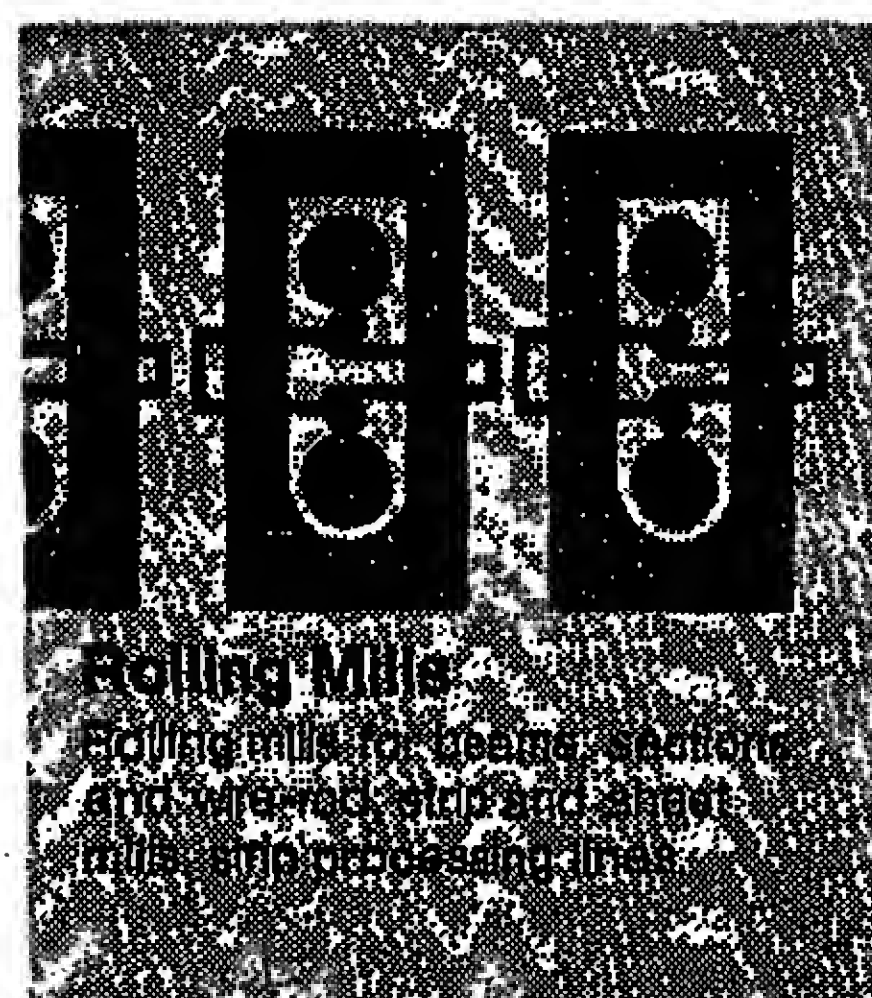
Machinery, Plants and Systems

Mannesmann Demag,
your partner with experience in all matters of
mechanical engineering
and plant construction.
With a broad financial
base, world-wide sales
network and a future-
oriented research and
development programme
for new products.

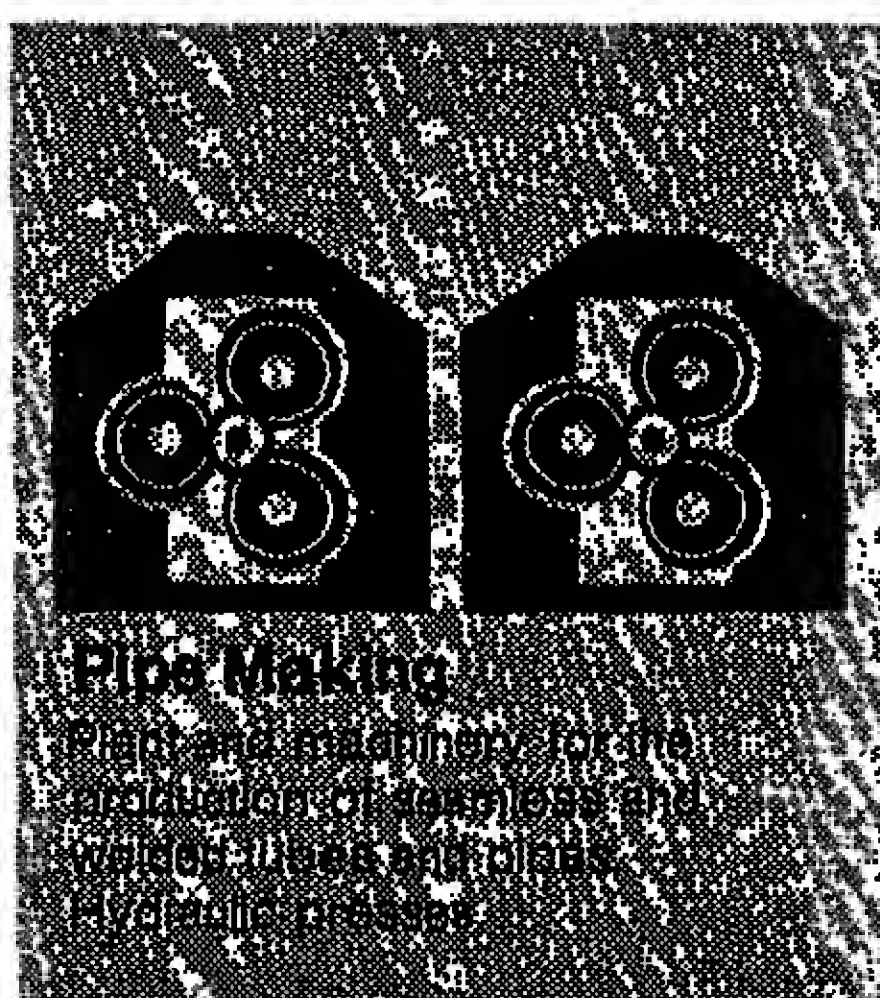
Mannesmann Demag AG
Postfach 10 01 41, D-4100 Duisburg
Fed. Rep. of Germany



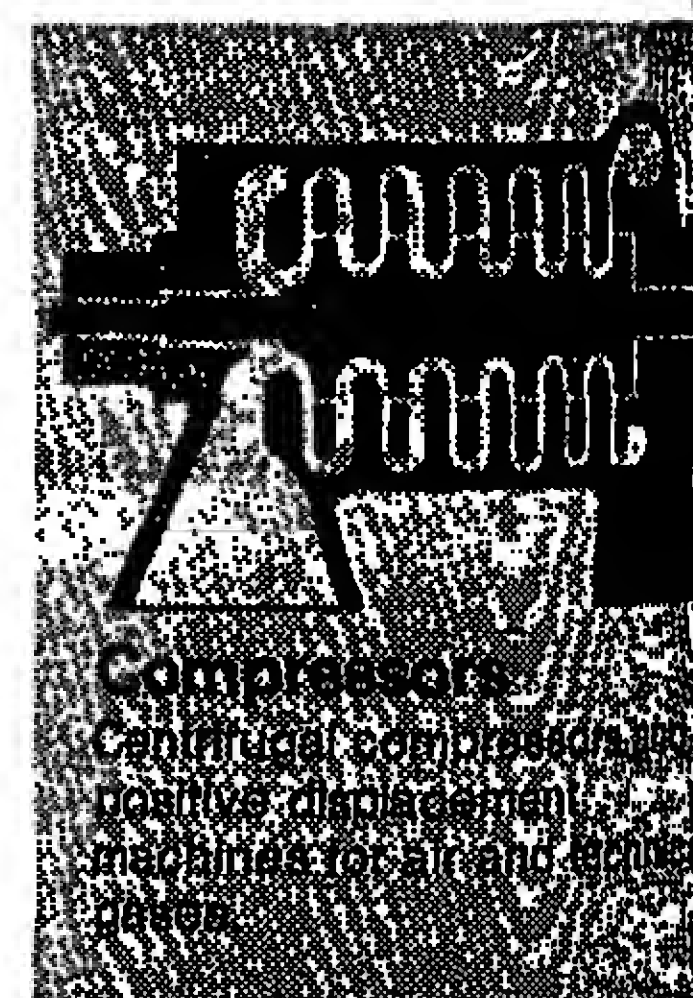
Metallurgical Plant
Integrated plant design
for steel mills, continuous
casters, blast furnaces, etc.



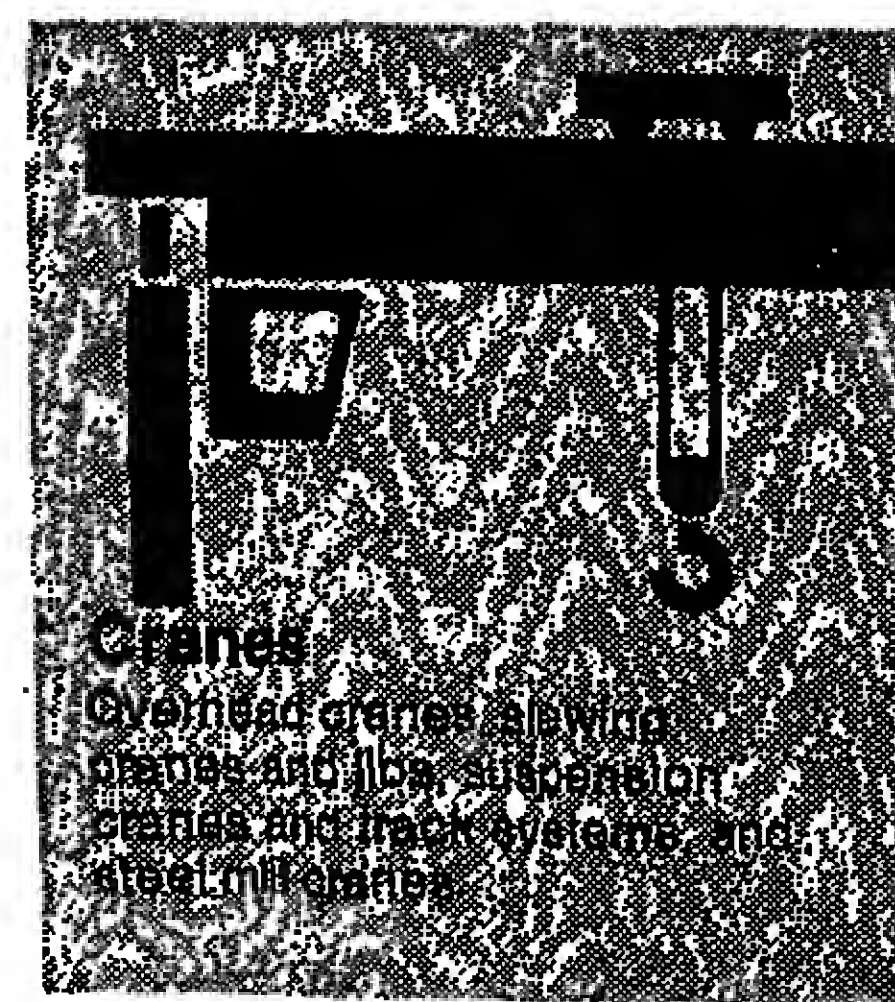
Rolling Mills
Continuous and discrete
rolling mills, hot and cold
rolling, strip and sheet
production.



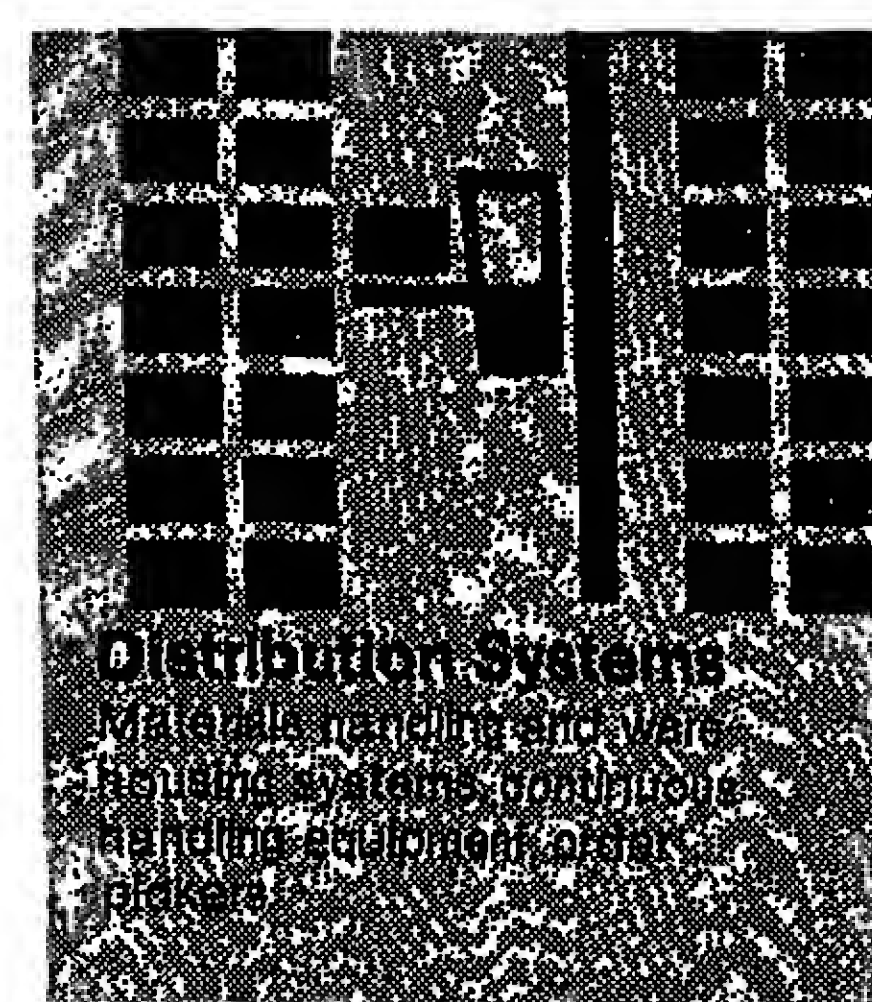
Blast Furnace
Hot blast furnaces for the
production of pig iron and
hot metal.



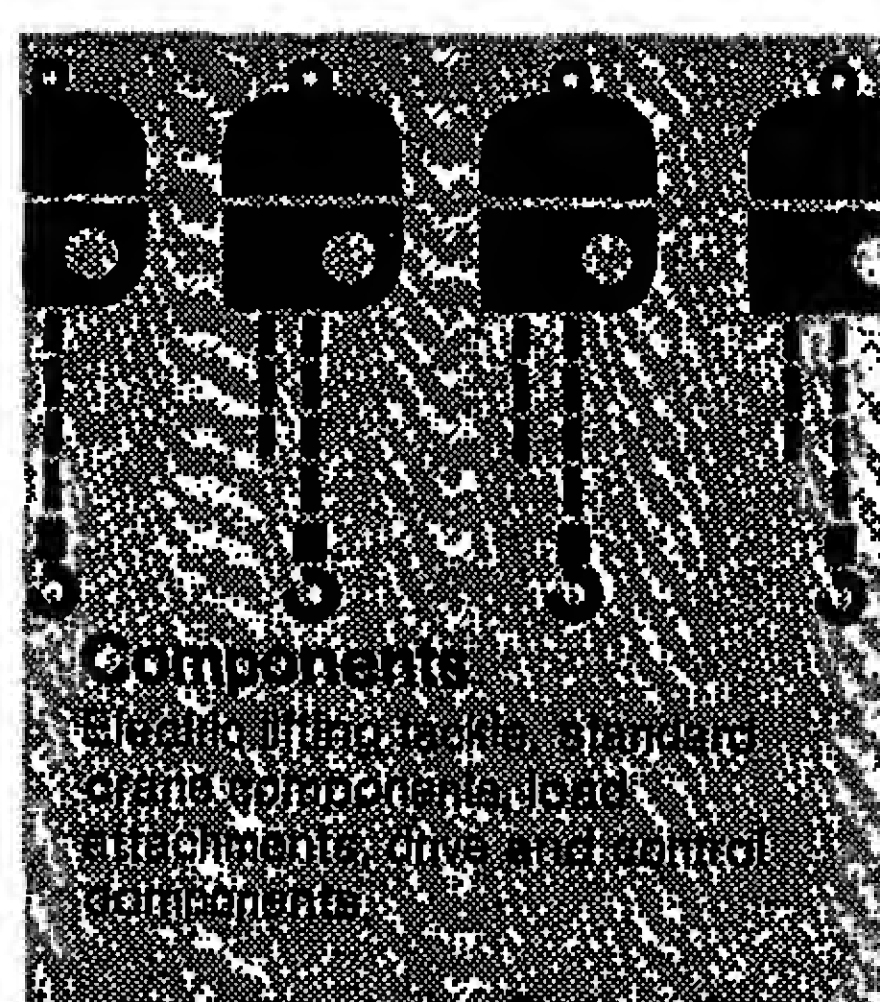
Compressors
Centrifugal, screw, and
positive displacement
compressors for air and
gas.



Cranes
Overhead cranes, gantry
cranes, and low head
cranes and truck systems
and steel mill cranes.



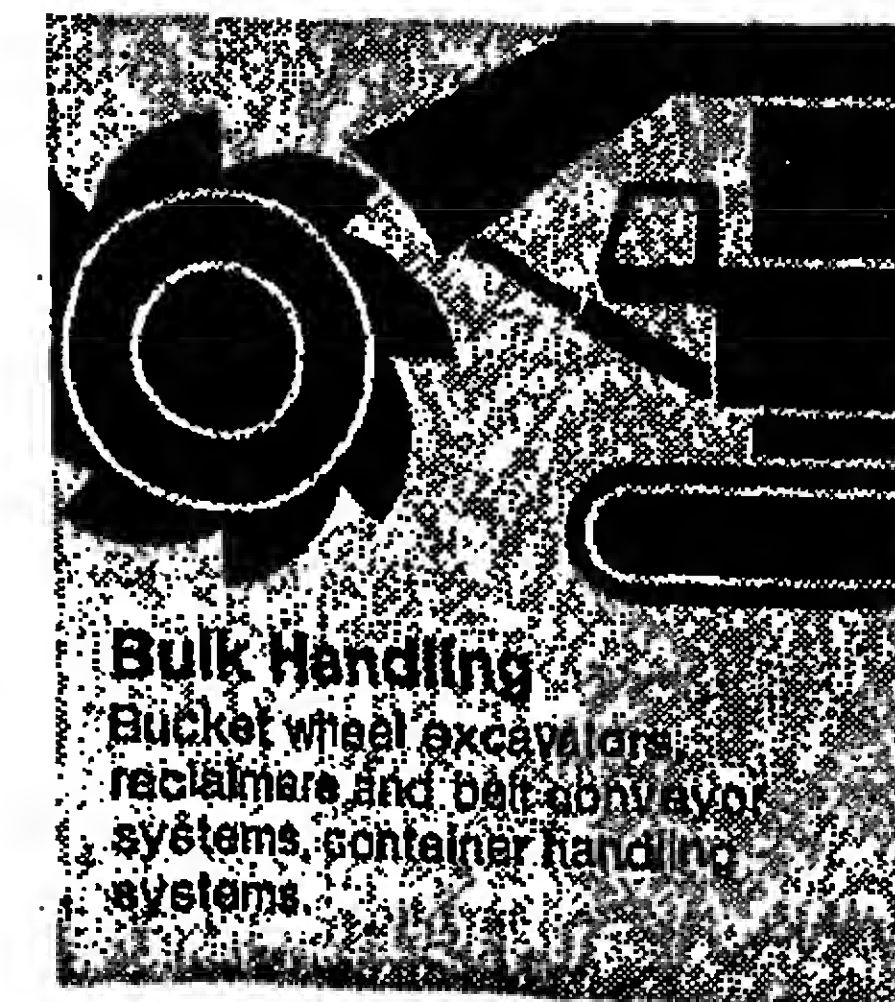
Distribution Systems
Water, steam, and gas
distribution systems, hot
water heating, air conditioning,
etc.



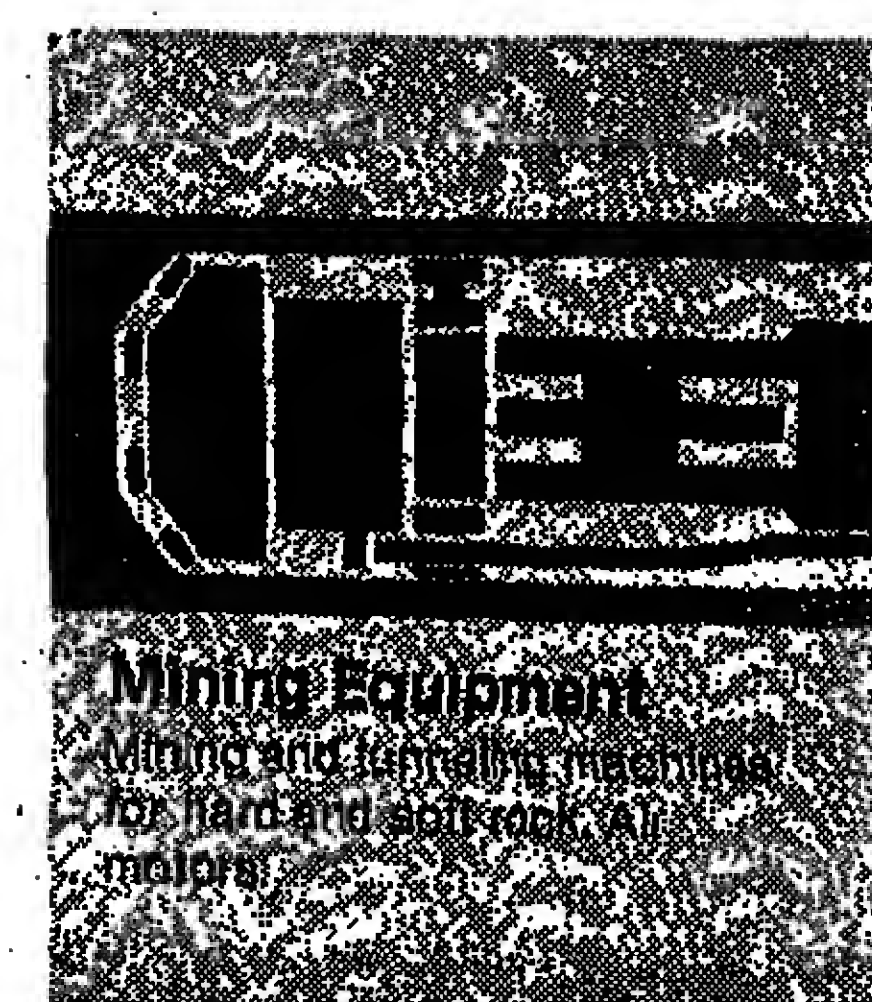
Components
Large industrial pumps,
valves, and other
components.



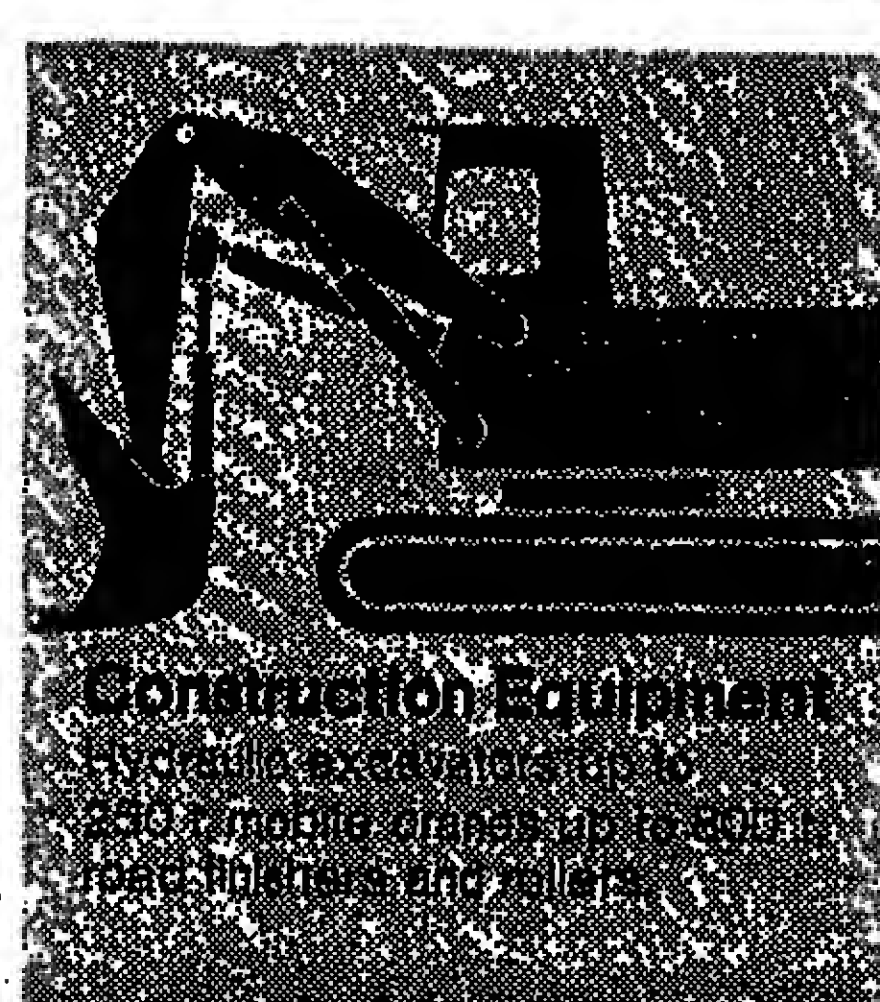
Plastic Machinery
Extruders, injection
moulding machines,
etc.



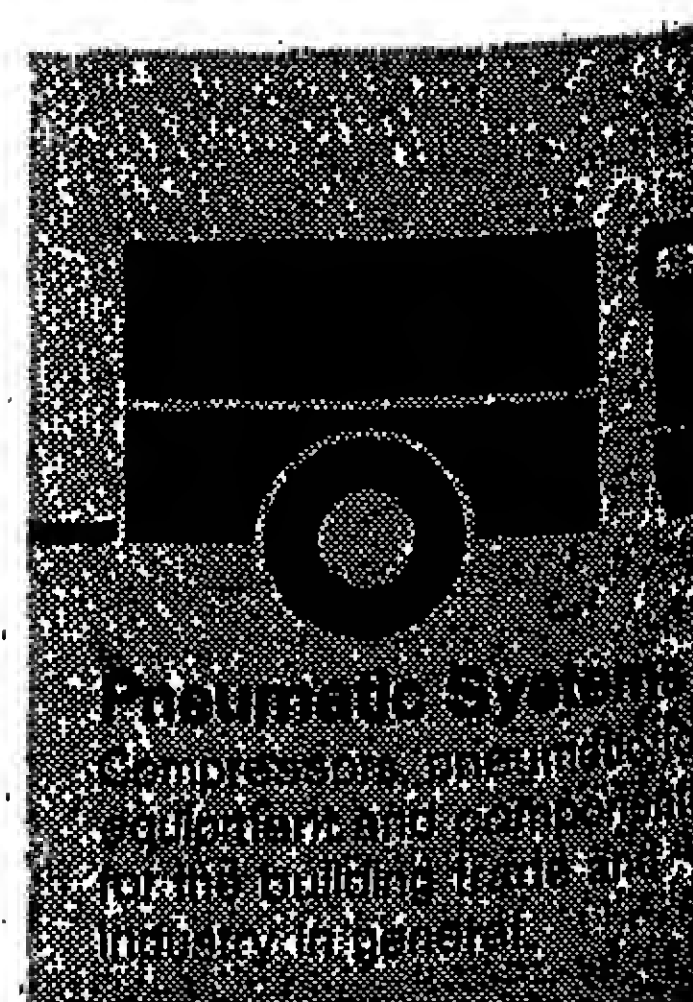
Bulk Handling
Bucket wheel excavators,
reclaimers, and belt conveyor
systems, container handling
systems.



Mining Equipment
Mining and transport
machines for hard and soft
rock.



Construction Equipment
Excavators, bulldozers,
etc.

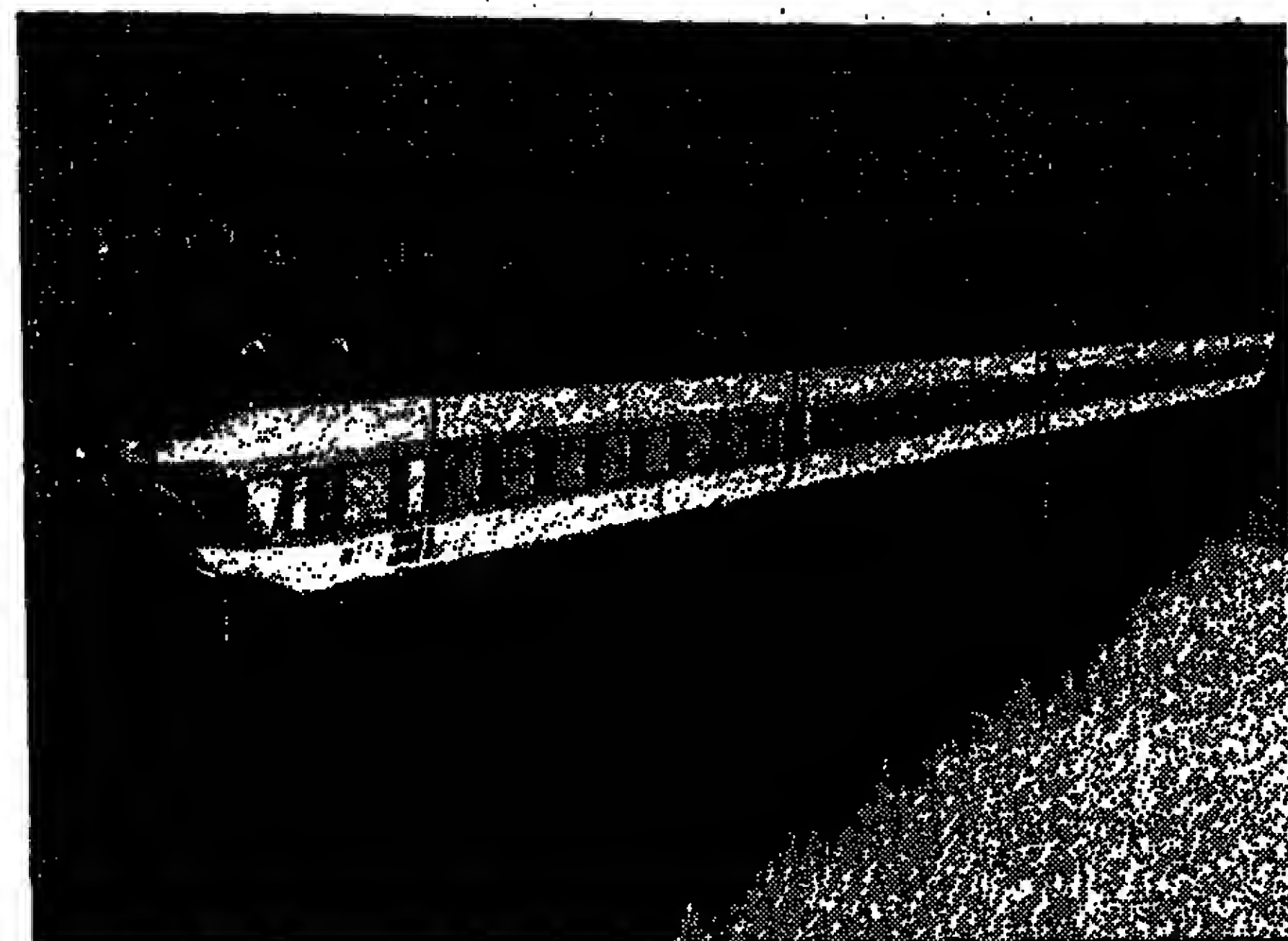


Pneumatic Systems
Compressors, cylinders,
valves, and other
pneumatic components.

Trains and stations in Germany

How sad, you may say, that the
days of the steam engine in
some secondary lines small steam
engines are still working and one
occasionally sees the express
engine 01 that was built during the
roaring Twenties. A lively past can
also be found in beautiful old
stations. For example, in Hannover,
where the inside of the station has
any connected with each other in
the world's most advanced inter-
city system. Small and large cities
such as the ET 403, as well as by
time by fast and elegant trains.
been replaced over a period of
Old Germany are numbered. It has
occasionally seen the express
engines are still working and one
left unchanged for 100 years.
been modernised but the old
narrow Acher valley to the Rhine
Forest.

Main railway station, Hannover
A Bundesbahn Inter-City
service en route



DZT
DEUTSCHE ZERN
FÜR TOURISMUS
Beethovenstrasse 66, D-5000 Köln

■ MIGRANTS

ded bliss

A Channanian who has been engaged to a Cologne woman for over a year is lucky in that he needs only to prove that he exists. But he can't. His birth certificate has been lost.

He has appealed to his relatives back home to try and find the missing document, but he has lived in Germany for 23 years and the Channanian authorities are not even prepared to certify that his birth certificate has been lost.

He is also unable to supply the required certification by the Channanian authorities that he is a single man. He says that he was a soldier but cannot

The difficulty here is that he has applied for asylum in Germany and is not allowed to leave his place of residence. Yet if he were to withdraw the application he might easily be suspected of not having meant it seriously or even of having deliberately misled the authorities. So many couples head for Denmark, the Scandinavian Reno, where the authorities are less fussy about paperwork. But difficulties can arise at the moment the wife and her two children go back to Sweden and find no room for them.

newly-weds cross back into Germany. An Indian who had just married a German woman was refused re-entry into the Federal Republic on the ground that he did not hold a visa for Germany. The IAF, an association of German women married to foreigners, was set up in Frankfurt in 1972 to deal with problems such as these.

It is run by its founder-president, Rosi Wolf-Altmannstsch and deals mainly with aliens' law and private legal problems. It also helps with marriage guidance.

The main aim, however, is to improve the position of German women married to non-Germans.

The Frankfurt association says German women married to foreign men have a harder time of it than German men married to foreign women. They are subject to German family law but when it comes to rights of inheritance or custody the laws prevailing in the man's native country, exclusively.

750,000 certificates a year that patients would for health reasons be well advised to change their jobs.

German woman and, for example, a Jordanian man of marrying merely so the man can get a visa.

In this instance suspicions have been rife for over two years during which the couple have sought in vain to put up the barnum.

They are regularly told either that some certificate or other is missing or that another has lapsed and needs re-newing.

The union representative promptly would be sacked.

Fort Lauderdale. "Whenever I see any car," he said, "people want to buy it. I've had enough." He sold his property. His Munich business has been taken over by skater Manfred Schnelbacher to stay in America for maybe open a soccer training camp something else, but above all, so it is a legend, DMSO, which city fer to Officially a few not over tured in it was because Pal Gert

...to call it a day when the time will probably carry on trying to own in the U.S. league, which is owned for his job of order. not even (S)

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longer expired a few months ago he was unhappy with the terms the club offered him. He had more or less agreed to terms with Leverkusen when Cologne offered for another three seasons.

His wife Monika has been given the job of keeping the family's finances in order. But on one point she need have no worries. He doesn't touch alcohol, not even beer.

Hermann Weskamp
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 13 October 1981)

